——Jasmina Osterman——

From ki-en-gi to *Šumerum*: how Sumer was Created?

This paper deals with the gradual formation of the Sumerian tradition, about which most information came from Old Babylonian sources (first quarter of the second millennium BC). In these sources, the territory, people, language and tradition are named šumerum, and according to bilingual texts (Babylonian-Sumerian), the Sumerian compound that corresponds to that name is ki-en-gi. I analyzed the texts in which the Sumerian name appears, from the Early Dynastic I-II period (around 2700 BC) until the end of third third millennium BC. My intention was to see how the meaning of ki-en-gi transformed over the course of 700 years until it was eventually equated with šumerum. Along with the change in the meaning and orthography of that Sumerian name, I also investigate the socio-political changes in Southern Mesopotamian society that influenced the creation of a special Sumerian tradition. Within the Babylonian culture, Sumerian became a unique culture that is understood as the origin of urban life in the Mesopotamian kingdoms, and Sumerian acquired the status of the language of culture and education.

Various cultures of ancient Mesopotamia credited the Sumerians with the emergence of urban, organized life – in essence, with the creation of Civilization. However, after the disappearance of the great Mesopotamian cultures (Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian), and especially after the arrival of Islam, the Sumerians and their culture were lost. The ancient writers who painstakingly recorded information about the distant and foreign cultures of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and Egypt did not write a single word about the Sumerians. They are not mentioned in the Old Testament either.[1] When the cuneiform script was deciphered in the mid-19th century and when the numerous texts found in archives throughout Mesopotamia were read, no one knew anything about the existence of an older culture on whose traditions all of the great ancient Mesopotamian urban cultures were based. The Sumerians had to be rediscovered. It quickly became clear that the cuneiform script in which all Mesopotamian texts were written (literary, lexical, administrative, legal, etc.) was not created for the East Semitic Akkadian

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[1] Perhaps the name Shinar is derived from the Babylonian name *Šumerum*, but it is described only as a sinful country in southern Mesopotamia (Gen. X 10, XI 2, XVI 1; Zech. V 11; Dan. I 2; Josh. VII 21; Is. XI 11).

language in which Assyrian and Babylonian texts were written. The title of the Babylonian kings, "king of Babylon, king of all four corners of the world, king of Sumer and Akkad," was also enigmatic. The Sumerians were rediscovered. After these beginnings, a large number of both bilingual Akkadian-Sumerian texts and older texts that were written exclusively in the Sumerian language were found.[2] It was discovered that the Sumerians originally inhabited the area of southern Mesopotamia. Sumerian mythological works, hymns, and poetry were translated, and the Sumerian pantheon, royal ideology and ritual practices were reconstructed. It has been established that the Akkadian term for that original culture, *šumerum*, was identical to the Sumerian ki-en-gi. The result of that pioneering research (linguistic and archaeological) was the discovery of a unique culture with a unique tradition, royal ideology and religion. However, all of this rested on translations of texts from a time when Sumerian had long ceased to be a spoken language and when various ruling dynasties of non-Sumerians had already thoroughly reshaped the inherited tradition to justify the legitimacy of their rule.

Today it is generally accepted that since the Old Babylonian period "there was little or no Sumerian identity – in the sense of 'We are all Sumerians!' – outside of Sumerian literature and the scribal milieu that composed and transmitted it" (CO-OPER 2016: 1). Sumerian literature[3] as we know it today and the accompanying Sumerian scribal identity were created in the period from the Third Dynasty of Ur (2110-2003 BC)[4] to the Middle Babylonian era (15th-12th centuries BC.).

In this paper, I have no intention of "discovering" what the original Sumerian tradition was, but rather the foundations on which that tradition was built at the end of the third and beginning of the second millennium BC. That is why I will not deal with the issue of identity creation and what it should represent in early urbanism societies. I will present only some views of relevant experts about dominant identities in early Sumerian urban communities. I will focus on the use and meaning of the Sumerian term ki-en-gi. My intention is to determine what that name originally referred to and how its meaning changed within different historical realities. First, I will present the basic information about the scribal variations of that name and the relevant interpretations of that term. Before I start with the main analyses I will briefly say something about the current knowledge about the landscape of southern Mesopotamia in the 4th and 3rd millennium BC. The urban centers of southern Mesopotamia built their wealth and prestige on the control of trade, so I will also explain the importance of trade and the role of

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[2]   On the history of research into Mesopotamia and the discovery of the Sumerians, see KRAMER 1970: 3 - 32.

[3]   For a history and overview of Sumerian literature, see RUBIO 2009.

[4]   All dates for the third millennium BC are taken from *ARCANE* III (SALLABERGER and SCHRAKAMP 2015: 136).

water channels and their control. In the following part I will briefly present some previous considerations about the meaning of the term ki-en-gi in the Early Dynastic period. After that, I will provide a chronological overview of all texts dated to the third millennium BC in which that term (or variations thereof) was recorded, as well as those containing the Semitic name *šumerum*. In that part, I will determine how those terms are written (type of symbol and order of writing) and discern their meaning in the text. Finally, I will interpret the obtained results of the analysis in the context of the socio-political historical reality within which those texts were created.

1. Šumerum *and ki-en-gi*

Our terms "Sumer, Sumerian" come from the later Akkadian *māt šumeri(m)* ("land of Sumer") and *šumeru(m)* ("Sumerian"). The original Sumerian name that is equated with this Akkadian is ki-en-gi, which as part of the royal title "king of Sumer and Akkad" from the early Old Babylonian period,[5] is also written in the form of ki-in-gi.[6] It is written in this form in a bilingual lexical list in which it is equated with *šumeri* (gun$_2$ ma-da ki-in-gi uri = MIN MIN *šu-me-ri u ak-ka-di-i*).[7] Ki-en-gi is always written with the symbols KI, EN and GI, except in documents from the First Lagash dynasty (in Urukagina's documents, see below). There was a separate Sumerian name for the "Sumerian language," eme-gi$_7$(r), which was most often written with the symbol ŠE$_2$ for the syllable gi$_7$(r). This name is most often translated as "noble language" or "indigenous language" (CO-OPER 2016: 3; STEINKELLER 1993: 112). Cooper (2016: 3) thinks that in the compound ki-en-gi the final syllable is essentially gi$_7$(r) based on the parallel with the entry eme-gi instead of eme-gi$_7$(r) in *Shulgi's Hymn C*,[8] with which I do not agree. Ki-en-gi is always written with GI, and the only time it is not is in the texts of Urukagina, where the symbol GI$_4$ is written instead (Figure 1). Both symbols (GI and GI$_4$) were originally variations of the stylized drawing of a halm reed, so the use of the reed symbol in the wetlands of southern Mesopotamia, where reeds are the main feature of the landscape, is understandable. Some authors (POMPONIO and VISICATO 1994: 11; KREBERNIK and POSTGATE 2009: 7,

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[5]   Inscription of Rim Sin, last Larsa dynasty ruler (P448451)

[6]   It is recorded in this form in a Middle-Babylonian (P468672) and six Neo-Assyrian (P462975, P285665, P468882, P450210, P466002, P450532) royal inscriptions and in a literary text ("The Exaltation of Ishtar," P368468).

[7]   It is written in this form as part of the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" and in the bilingual lexical list "LU (short) 1" from the Neo-Assyrian period (P373780, P373781).

[8]   *ETCSL* c.2.4.2.03, 121 (https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.4.2.03&display =Crit&charenc=gcirc#)
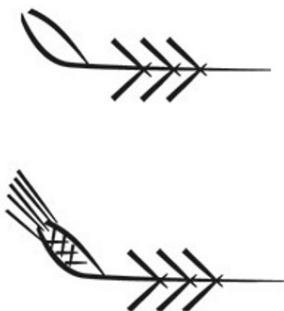
Figure 1. Proto-cuneiform symbols GI and GI4 (CDLI Sign list)

15) believe that EN.GI.KI as written in the earliest sources (see below) refers to the name of the city of Enegi. This interpretation is based on the assumption that the original GI in ki-en-gi is actually $gi_7(r)$, which I also do not consider probable for the aforementioned reason. Attempts to derive the Akkadian term from a Sumerian counterpart did not yield any results, but Cooper (2016: 5) suggests that *šumeru/šumeri* was perhaps derived from *šu emegir* "(place of) the Sumerian language," with which I do not agree for the same reason as noted above.

2. The landscape of southern Mesopotamia and the role of trade in the development of early urban culture

Written sources (STEINKELLER 2001), as well as recent palaeogeological studies (WILKINSON AND HRITZ 2013: 18-20), testify to the features of the southern Mesopotamian landscape and its waterways. They clearly indicate that in the past, the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers were connected by a network of intertwined branching canals that provided water for irrigation and enabled efficient and inexpensive transportation of goods and people.[9] As the courses of these rivers and their channels neared the coast of the Persian Gulf, their currents slowed and the sediments that they carried were deposited, creating multiple new channels that formed a so-called "bird's foot" delta (Figure 2; POURNELLE 2013: 14, 17, 28-29).[10]

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[9] The importance of waterways for the transport of people and goods in southern Mesopotamia has been emphasized in recent studies (BRANTING et al., 2013: 144-147; BENATI 2015: 22).

[10] Geological analyses that have been frequently conducted in southern Mesopotamia in the past several decades have established that since the middle of the Holocene the Gulf coastline had become intertwined and created salt marshes and brackish lagoons. The ancient branches of the Tigris and Euphrates poured fresh water into the sea and in the process deposited considerable amounts of sediment through numerous channels. The confluence of salt and fresh water was in the area of today's Al Qadisi and Al Muthan (formerly Diuani) districts (POURNELLE AND ALGAZE 2014: 2).
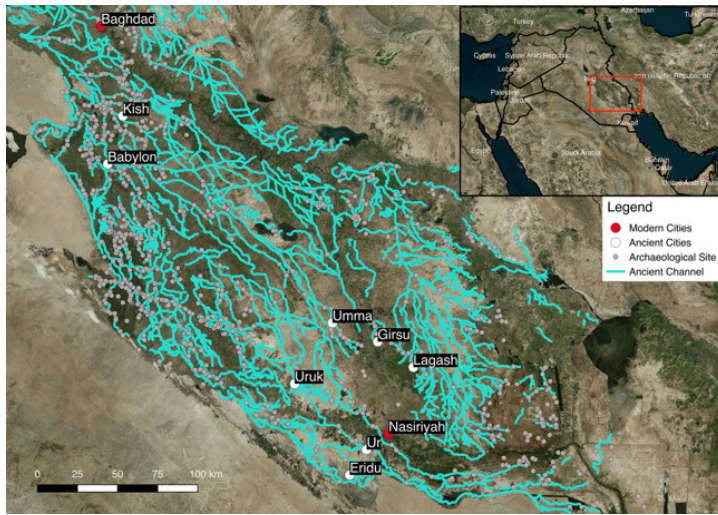
Figure 2. Picture of the "bird's foot" delta (ALTAWEEL 2019: Figure 1)

In his studies[11], Guillermo Algaze extensively discussed the influence of the environment on the formation of the first urban centres in southern Mesopotamia. He ascertained that the features of the environment and trade were the most important factors that contributed to the formation of early complex communities, and that this specific marshy area provided southern Mesopotamian centres with a crucial advantage over neighbouring communities. Recent archaeological findings also indicate that the contributions of the wetlands and the entire delta were crucial to the initial development of the early urban centres in that area. The emergence of early cities in the southern Mesopotamian alluvium must be understood in terms of the unique ecological conditions that existed in that area certainly as of the fourth millennium BC. Most of the largest centres in the early stages of urban development[12] were located within or on the peripheries of marshes, lagoons and estuaries or along waterways leading to the coast or estuaries at the head of the bay (POURNELLE and ALGAZE 2014: 3). Even in the later Sumerian period (3rd millennium BC), all urban centres in southern Mesopotamia were necessarily located along the main canals, most often on waterway hubs or at the beginning of the "bird's foot" delta. The cities located in the extreme south (Ur, Lagash) depended on cities upstream for the inflow of water and flood regulation. Cities that were upstream depended on those to the south for goods that arrived by maritime routes to the Mesopotamian coast. Due to this interdependence, relations

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[11]   Especially in ALGAZE 2005; 2008.

[12]   In the Ubaid and Uruk periods (5th and 4th millennia BC.).

between cities were complex and subject to constant change, especially due to the unpredictability of seasonal floods and constant changes in canal flows and the creation of new and disappearance of old backwaters.

These conditions were conducive to the emergence of long-term trade patterns that favoured the development of a specific social-economic organization of southern Mesopotamian communities. At first, trade was driven by the natural differences in productivity between different areas of the southern Mesopotamian alluvium and between the alluvium as a whole and neighbouring areas (ALGAZE 2005: 3). Based on written sources from the third millennium BC, Selz cohesively points to the existence of an extensive network of roads that have always been connected to urban centres of various sizes. These "travel stations" simultaneously served religious, diplomatic and military purposes. Furthermore, he believes that such an organization is a continuation of the development of an extensive network of Uruk "colonies" of the preceding late Uruk period (3500-2900 BC). He also notes that the organization of trade was in the hands of large households or the state, and that in southern Mesopotamia there is currently no evidence of private trade at that time (SELZ 2014: 273, 274, see also ALGAZE 2005: 6).

Various studies indicate that in these early formative stages, larger groups of settlements were situated in transition areas between two different geoclimatic regions, at the ends of natural communication routes (rivers, passes, coasts...) or at key trade nodes (see ALGAZE 2008: 36, 37). Southern Mesopotamia encompasses all of these categories. It is located on the sea coast, at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers into the sea, along the slopes of the Iranian highlands. In this area, the maritime routes across the Gulf end[13] and the river routes via the Euphrates and Tigris begin, while rivers descend from the Iranian highlands and flow into the Mesopotamian basin. It was a place where sea and land routes intersected, which linked an area rich in minerals and quality stones in eastern Iran, Afghanistan and beyond with the identically rich raw materials of Anatolia and the Caucasus. Throughout their history, the cities of the Mesopotamian alluvium were actually located at the head of the vast Tigris and Euphrates delta transport system. This enabled them to access information, labour and goods from the narrower and wider areas more efficiently than any potential upstream competitor or rival (ALGAZE 2005: 9). Thus, the members of the early elite strata exploited trade as one of the most important tools to legitimize their unequal access to power and privilege.

The specific features of the landscape and the key role of trade caused conflicts between individual cities, but also the conclusion of alliances for the purpose of protection and control of trade.

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[13]   About the ships that brought cargo from Dilmun, Meluha and Magan (today's Bahrain and its surroundings, Oman and probably the Indus Valley area), see MAEKAWA and MORI 2011: 245-247 and MARCHESI, 2011.

3. Organization and identities of southern Mesopotamia before the first kingdoms – "City seals" and the first city alliances

Throughout the third millennium BC, the identity of urban Mesopotamian cultures, which was primarily emphasized in written sources at least, was based on belonging to a particular city. However, certain southern Mesopotamian cities formed alliances with each other in order to control trade more efficiently. Thus, already at the end of the Uruk period, on the tablets of the second phase of proto-cuneiform script (Uruk III), we find sealings from a specific type of cylindrical seal (the so-called Jemdet Nasr seal, Figure 3), which contained the symbols of specific places[14] (Table 1). The lexical list of "Archaic cities,"[15] which was only found in the city of Uruk, is contemporaneous with that seal. It contains the names of individual locations, in which, according to Cooper (2016: 2), we see the creation of a common identity of the "rulers of southern Mesopotamia." The first four cities on that list are the same as the first four listed on the "Jemdet Nasr seal" (Ur, Nippur, Larsa and Uruk).
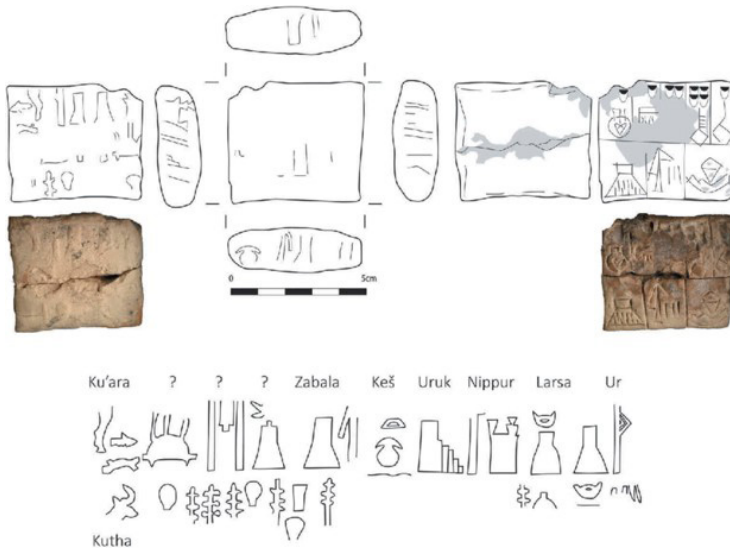

Figure 3. Seal of Jemdet Nasr (MATTHEWS, RICHARDSON 2018: Figure 3)

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[14] For a new interpretation of these seals, see MATTHEWS and RICHARDSON 2019. The symbols of certain cities on that seal are the confirmed ways of writing later important Sumerian cities, but there are also those that are not mentioned in later periods (centres that disappeared or were renamed).

[15] There are 17 fragments of tablets with that list (P000311, P000319, P000320, P000321, P000323, P000643, P000390, P000699, P000160, P000433, P000508, P000260, P000533, P000534) The reconstructed list is P471684.

This idea of unity between individual cities continued in the Early Dynastic period, when the only thing known for certain is that at the very least the members of the ruling class in the southern Mesopotamian cities were speakers of the Sumerian language. In the Early Dynastic period, older sites such as Uruk, Ur, Kish, Nippur, Abu Salabikh, and perhaps Umma continued to develop, and some new cities were founded, primarily Lagash and Shuruppak (ADAMS 1981; WRIGHT 1981; GIBSON 1972). [16] The oldest Sumerian texts were found in the archives of the city of Ur and date back to approximately 2700 BC (Early Dynastic I-II period). A high number of so-called "city seals" (Fig. 4) were found together with them. On those seals there are symbols of various southern Mesopotamian cities, which are believed to to have been part of an alliance that controlled trade from the Gulf to northern Mesopotamia (and beyond to the Mediterranean and Anatolia). [17] Some cities are the same as on the previous seals from Jemdet Nasr, but new ones have been added (Table 1).
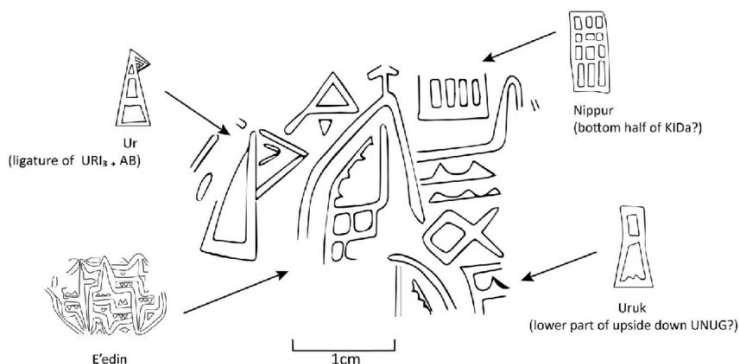

Figure 4. "City seal" from Konar Sandal, SE Iran
(MATTHEWS, RICHARDSON 2018: Figure 14)

The most likely interpretation of the older Jemdet Nasr seal as well as this later one from archaic Ur is that there was cooperation at the intra-regional level organized by the institutions of certain urban centres. [18]

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[16] Analyses conducted as part of the QADIS field survey project (MARCHETTI et all, 2019) established that settlement patterns in the early phases of the Early Dynastic period (RD I and II) indicate significantly more densely located urban centres than in the previous Uruk period, as well as an increase in the number of smaller settlements along the main channels. Nippur, Adab, Umma and Shuruppak were some of the main urban centres of that time. An increase in the total inhabited area was also observed for the areas of Uruk and Ur/Eridu (UR 2013: fig. 7.9; MARCHETTI et all 2019: 223). Uruk at that time encompassed 600 hectares (FINKBEINER 1991). However, this was no longer exceptional, as Lagash, located on the edge of the easternmost marshes in the alluvium, was almost as large as Uruk (CARTER 1985).

[17] For data on the archives, see OSTERMAN 2010: 108, 109.

[18] The cargo that was transferred and stored within such alliances was marked with a seal on which the symbols of all "partners" were written. Besides Ur, that kind of seal from the early 3rd

In these early alliances, the city of Kish, which was not part of the southern Mesopotamian Sumerian sphere, played a prominent role. It was located in the central part of Mesopotamia and, judging by the written sources, it belonged to the East Semitic linguistic area. In the Early Dynastic period, it obviously had the ideologically most dominant role in certain phases and to certain areas of southern Mesopotamia. Its importance in the control over trade was thus reflected in the royal ideology of southern Mesopotamian rulers. Certain known rulers who primarily reigned over a Sumerian southern Mesopotamian city (e.g., Mesannepada, ruler of Ur) assumed the title lugal of Kish on some monuments. [19] The town of Kish existed as an urban centre since the late Uruk period. [20] Charvát (2010, 19) presents evidence with accompanying literature about the formation of a royal ideology in Kish as of the Early Dynastic II period and its involvement in the struggle for control over key routes in southern Mesopotamia[21].

The subsequent Early Dynastic III period was characterized by a significant decline in the number of smaller settlements, accompanied by an increase in the size of the main urban centres. At that time, Nippur, Adab, Umma and Shuruppak extended over areas significantly larger than 40 ha (MARCHETTI et al., 2019: 223). Two large archives (from Shuruppak and Abu Salabikh) can be dated to the Early Dynastic IIIa period (ca. 2575-2475$^{+/- 30}$ BC). In them we find further confirmation of the existence of some manner of alliance and common identity among a part of the southern Mesopotamian urban centres. A group of documents stands out in the Shuruppak archive, in which the term ki-en-gi appears for the first time for a group of cities. The number of cities is significantly smaller than on previous seals (Table 1). In addition to this direct testimony about the existence of an alliance, which now has a name, these archives also contain lexical lists. In the Early Dynastic list of cities,[22] the first ranks encompass the same cities as in the list of Uruk III Archaic city list.[23]

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millennium BC was also found in Lagash, Shuruppak and Uruk. However, they were also found in Susa and Konar Sandal in Iran (MATTHEWS 2013: fig. 21.2, tab. 1), which indicates that the key trade centres in the Iranian area at least were also included in these contracted routes (BENATI 2015: 22; see also CRAWFORD 2013).

[19]   The importance of Kish in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC was reflected in the ideology of the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur. In the list of Sumerian kings (for the transliteration and translation of that list, see ETCSL 2.1.1) that was compiled at that time, Kish was placed before the cities of Ur and Gilgamesh's Uruk as the first city in which the royal power resided after the flood.

[20]   For literature about the beginnings of Kish, see CHARVÁT 2010, 16. See also CHARVÁT 1981; MOOREY 1978 and STEINKELLER 2013a, 145.

[21]   After an ascendant phase, Kish encountered great troubles, judging by the "flood" layer that is located above the layer with evidence of the rise of royal ideology, after which there is no further evidence testifying to the prestigious role of the king of Kish.

[22]   P010085, P010600, P225917

[23]   Hymns dedicated to more than seventy different patron deities of different centres were also found, which, according to Cooper (2016, 2), points to the existence of a "pan-Babylonian identity".

The era of independent Sumerian cities was followed by the Akkadian kingdom (2324-2181[+/-30] BC), when East Semitic Akkadian for the first time became the official language in southern Mesopotamia. The rulers of that dynasty assumed a portion of the existing royal ideology,[24] into which they incorporated their traditions. Sumerian again became an official language during the Second Dynasty of Lagash, from which we have sources mostly for the ruler Gudea (2130-2110? BC). Sumerian was also the official language during the third dynasty of Ur, whose rulers were evidently not Sumerians, but they legitimized their rule through the modified Sumerian tradition of the Akkadian kingdom.[25] That dynasty collapsed after about one hundred years (2110-2003 BC). The first quarter of the second millennium BC was marked by the rule of the Amorite dynasties. Southern Mesopotamia came under the rule of the Amorite Babylonian dynasty (1792-1595/1597 BC), whose rulers assumed the royal ideology of the third dynasty of Ur but incorporated part of their Amorite tradition into it.

5. *Ki-en-gi in the written sources of the third millennium BC*

Thorkild Jacobsen was the first to call the alliance of six cities the "Kiengi League" (Shurrupak, Uruk, Adab, Lagash, Umma and Nippur), and according to him, ki-en-gi was the name of the central gathering place of that organization (JACOBSEN 1957: 121-122). Manfred Krebernik later pointed out that as a single group these cities were also recorded in lexical texts from Abu Salabikh and Ebla (KREBERNIK 1998: 242). Francesco Pomponio called this league the Hexapolis and based on texts about the distribution of barley to approximately seventy individuals who were characterized by the names of the aforementioned cities, he concluded that there were continuous relations and trade between them. He believed that these cities were, at that time, probably the most important political and economic centres in Sumer and that the exact location of the KI.EN.GI centre, if it indeed existed, remains unknown for the time being. However, due to the difference in the writing of the name, he believed that it was not a single centre (POMPONIO and VISICATO 1994: 10 - 20).

A separate question is whether the ruler of some city was at the head of that alliance, or an independent leader was appointed. Two administrative documents from Shuruppak mentions $ENSI_2$.GAR ki-en-gi (WF 142 I 2f.; TSŠ 627 V 7f.), which could be the title of the person in charge of ki-en-gi. On this matter, Marchesi and Marchetti pointed out the role of the king of Kish, who granted land in a document

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[24]   For example the title "King of Kish" which was the only royal title besides "King of Akkad" until Naram-Sin's rule.

[25]   Part of their royal title was "king of the four corners of the world," first used by Akkadian King Naram-Sin.

from Shuruppak (P010498), which would indicate a kind of superior status of that city in relation to the southern cities of the Sumerian sphere and thus perhaps to the ki-en-gi league (MARSHESI and MARCHETTI 2011: 101). In the Early Dynastic III period, Shuruppak may have been the administrative centre of Kish's sphere. That assumes that the domain of Kish competed with the domain of Ur for control over the main trade routes through southern Mesopotamia.[26] Ur's domain would be represented by the cities contained in the city seal from archaic Ur. If this assumption is correct, it is evident (see Table 1) that some of the cities in Ur's domain from the Early Dynastic I-II period entered Kish's domain in the Early Dynastic IIIa period.

5.1. Early Dynastic I-II period

In the oldest Sumerian texts, ki-en-gi was written only once, perhaps as part of the name (ama ki-en-gi) in a document[27] from Ur about cattle. The order of the symbols in the entry is AMA EN GI KI with the symbol KI in the last position (Figure 5), which that symbol occupies when it is written as a determinative that categorizes the previous word. In this function, it is determinative for "place, city". In that oldest corpus of Sumerian texts the most frequent names[28] are the ones that contain symbol ama. That type of name later gradually disappeared.[29] However, judging by the appearance of the symbol ama (AN symbol inscribed in the GA_{2b} symbol[30]), which at this time appears almost identical as those from the Uruk III proto-cuneiform corpus, it is possible that it is an institution or some title. For a more accurate interpretation, all documents on which the AMA symbol is written should be analyzed (both in the corpus from the Uruk III period and in this one from Archaic Ur). If the symbol ama is a designation for an institution or a title, then the ki-en-gi coalition already exists in this time and may refer to the alliance of cities witnessed on cylinder seals from the same time horizon.
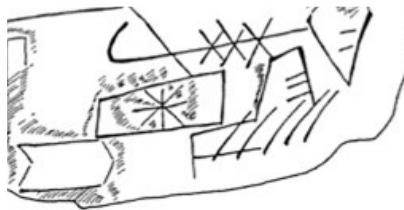

Figure 5. Part of tablet P449003 with AMA EN GI KI entry from Ur

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[26] On the domains of the cities of Kish and Ur, see POMPONIO and VISICATO 1994: 10-20; VISICATO 1994: 88; MARCHESI 2006: 221 and CHARVÁT 2010: 16-20.

[27] P449003. Ama-ki-en-gi is in charge of (receives) one calf.

[28] BURROWS 1935: 27-38

[29] See OSTERMAN 2010: 118

[30] See CDLI Sign list "Late Uruk Period", sv. AMA and GA_{2b}.

5.2. *Early Dynastic IIIa period*

The largest archive of that era was found in Shuruppak[31] and a slightly smaller one of a different character[32] came from Abu Salabikh.[33] I have already presented some considerations about these documents, so I will simply outline them now. In documents from this period, the compound ki-en-gi appears on seven tablets and on one lexical list.

Two documents[34] from Shuruppak record the distribution of workers (guruš lu$_2$ durun and guruš lu$_2$ ba durun$_x$) which belong to or are given to ki-en-gi. In both documents, workers are assigned to (or collected from) the cities of Uruk, Adab, Nippur, Lagash, Shuruppak and Umma.[35] The third document[36] from Shuruppak is direct evidence of the connection of ki-en-gi to trade.[37] The fourth document[38] from Shuruppak records business with the ki-en-gi fields to which the fields A A.KI and EREN$_2$ A.KI are added.[39]

In two documents also from Shuruppak, only en-gi is written without the determinative ki at the end. One[40] records the distribution of wool (siki) for e$_2$-Nanna ("Nana's house"). The recipients or those who deliver the goods are various institutions and/or titles. The second tablet[41] contains a series of entries pertaining to various institutions, locations, titles and possibly specific persons (personal names?) so en-gi could refer to an institution or place. In both cases,

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[31] For data on Shuruppak and administrative organization, see OSTERMAN 2010: 123-131.

[32] Most of texts from Abu Salabikh are literary or lexical.

[33] On Abu Salabikh, see OSTERMAN 2010: 183-185.

[34] P011051, P011049

[35] Also, in both documents, the higher number amount of workers is for or from the city of Adab, which would corroborate the results of the aforementioned research (MARCHETTI et all 2019: 223), which ascertained that Adab was the largest city in that area at that time.

[36] P010869. The entries on the obverse end with EN GI KI written almost in ligature and the entry below UD/U$_4$ NA. In front is an entry with the numerical notation ensi$_2$-GAR, but I do not believe that it refers to ki-en-gi.

[37] Unfortunately, the document is quite damaged (especially on the reverse), but it is clear that it records business related to ships (titles lu$_2$ ma$_2$-gur$_8$, lu$_2$ ma$_2$-sag, lu$_2$ ma$_2$-ge$_6$, lu$_2$ 1(diš@t) ma$_2$ še and perhaps the types of ships ma$_2$ LAK490@90?, ma$_2$ nag di, ma$_2$-lah$_5$) and the location Dilmun (titula maškim gal dilmun). Out of the cities, only the name Nippur has been preserved, but this portion is quite damaged on the reverse.

[38] P010899

[39] Four-sevenths of the fields are characterized as ki-en-gi, while the rest is from the other two locations mentioned, and all fields on the reverse are listed as those of ki-en-gi.

[40] P010029

[41] P010800. The tablet is categorized as an administrative document in the CDLI. However, it is a series of entries, all of which are preceded by the numerical notation 1aš and there is no record of the type of transaction or the final total at the end of the document, so I believe that it may be some unknown type of vocabulary list or scribal exercise.

it could also be about the ki-en-gi coalition, because the symbol KI as a determinative could be ignored in the name of a well-known place.

An administrative tablet from the Abu Salabikh archive [42] notes that barley fields are distributed (ŠE+GAN$_2$) and ki-en-gi is written at the end of the total. This could be interpreted that all the fields that are distributed are within the ki-en-gi or are given to the ki-en-gi.

The only record in the lexical list is in the God list.[43] One of the deities is ^{d}nin-ki-en-gi-še$_3$ written in the 169th place. Following the translations of other Sumerian compounds of divine names, this name could be translated as "Mistress/lord of the place EN GI".[44] This name is also written in a copy of the Kesh temple hymn from the second millennium BC. The earliest version in which the third line of the later Old Babylonian version is written comes from Abu Salabikh. A later version clearly has written on it: "The temple whose interior is the heart of the Land (kalam) and at the back of which is the life of the Kiengi (ki-en-gi)." On the Early Dynastic version from Abu Salabikh, the last part has been destroyed and. According to Cooper in that line only the EN symbol is preserved, which he saw as proof that this first version was very similar to the later, more fully preserved one in Old Babylonian times (COOPER 2016: 4). However, I did not come across the part in question when examining the fragments on which parts of the hymn are preserved in the CDLI database.

Early Dynastic IIIa texts from Syrian Ebla have also been preserved, among which a hymn to the goddess Nisaba[45] was found. The earliest version of the later Semitic name *šumerum* is recorded in this hymn. It is written *sum-ar-rum$_2$* in the phrases "Sumer, ruler of foreign countries" (or "Sumer and rulers of foreign countries"), "Sumer, throne of all countries" and the last mention in the enumeration of Subartu, Sumer, Dilmun[46] (COOPER 2016: 4, 5). *Šumarum* in these texts obviously designates some territory in southern Mesopotamia.

In the Early Dynastic IIIa period, ki-en-gi was written, with the exception of the lexical list of gods from Shuruppak, exclusively with the order of symbols EN GI KI (Figure 6). KI is always in the last determinative position.

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[42] P010447

[43] SF 001

[44] ŠE$_3$ is a grammatical element (terminative). Here, the order of symbols is slightly different. The initial determinative AN is followed by the symbol for nin (SAL NAM$_2$) and then EN ŠE$_3$ GI and KI.

[45] Ebla is a Semitic city and the first Semitic hymns were found in this corpus of the earliest texts. On Ebla and its archives, see ARCHI 2015.

[46] The last entry is the most significant because Subartu was the name for a part of northern Mesopotamia and Dilmun was probably the area of today's Bahrain, so the sequence of the listed areas suggests that *Šumarum* is between those two areas, which corresponds to the area of southern Mesopotamia.
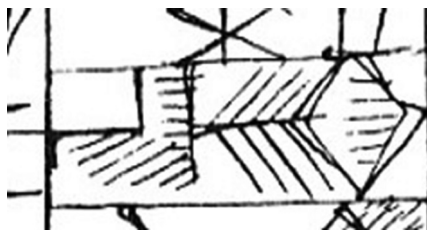
Figure 6. Part of tablet P010869 with EN GI KI entry from Shuruppak

5.3. Early Dynastic IIIb period

The largest archive was found in the city of Girsu, part of the Sumerian city-state of Lagash, from the final phase of the Early Dynastic period. Four documents from this archive concerning fish and fish products (?) and dated to the second year of the lu_2-gal Urukagina contain this term, and it is in written the last column of the reverse, which dates the document and describes the transaction. The compound is written with the symbol GI_4 instead of GI and with another symbol KI at the end (ki-en-gi_4^{ki}). On the two tablets,[47] the date at the end is:

1. sa_6-sa_6
2. dam URU-KA-gi-na
3. lu_2-gal
4. lagaš^{ki}-ka-ke_4
5. ki-en-gi_4^{ki}
6. šu e-ne-tak_4 2 AŠxDIŠ@t

The compound verb šu … tak_4 can be translated as "to leave or to send",[48] so the description of the transactions would be "Sasa, the wife of Urukagina, king of Lagash, sent (recorded products) to Kiengi, the second (year)." In the other two documents[49] it is written in the same position and with the same function:

1. sa_6-sa_6
2. dam URU-KA-gi-na
3. lu_2-gal
4. lagaš^{ki}-ka-ke_4
5. ki-en-gi_4^{ki}
6. geš be_2-tag 2 AŠxDIŠ@t

This second compound verb geš…tag can be translated as "to offer a sacrifice",[50] so the description of these two transactions would be "Sasa, the wife of

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[47]   P220701 and P020278

[48]   ePSD, s.v. tak_4

[49]   P220696 and P220853

[50]   ePSD, s.v. tag

Urukagina, king of Lagash, are given (recorded products) as a sacrificial contribution to Kiengi, the second (year)." In all four documents, the order of the symbols is KI EN GI$_4$, with another symbol KI added at the end. The last symbol here certainly has the role of a determinative, so only now for the first time do we have a place/location/space that was called Kiengi.

The compound ki-en-gi with the symbol GI was found only in one administrative document[51] of unknown origin. On the reverse, which is badly damaged, the symbols KI EN GI AL LA ME can be seen in one entry, but many of the entries have been destroyed. Here too the order of the symbols is identical to the later reading (at least based on what can be seen from the preserved part of the entry).

At this time, ki-en-gi appears for the first time as part of the royal ideology on royal inscriptions. It is written on the monumental royal "Stele of Vultures"[52] (Figure 7) of Eanatum, king of Lagash, found in Girsu. The final part of the text, which is quite damaged, states within in the context of Eanatum's victories that he first defeated the city of Ur and then Arua. This is followed by the damaged portion in which only ".... from the Kiengi, Ur he destroyed" (šu-e$_3$ … ki-en-gi uri$_5$^{ki} |GIN$_2$.ŠE$_3$| be$_2$-se$_3$) is preserved. The symbols are written in the sequence KI EN GI. The inscription is about the victory over the city of Umma, which is the first upstream neighbour of Lagash, and the emphasis on the victory over Ur indicates that there was an alliance between those two cities (Umma and Ur) that had something to do with Kiengi.
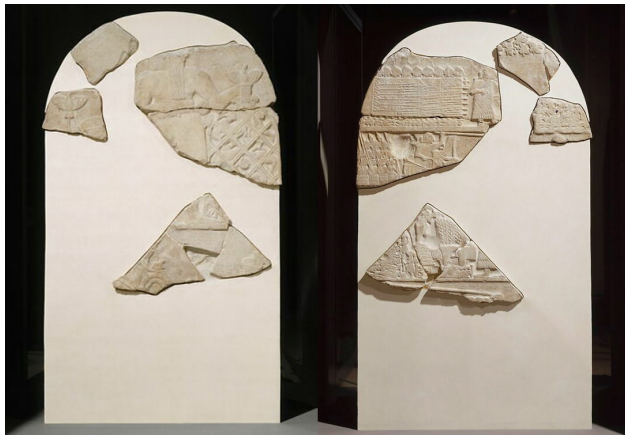

Figure 7. Stele of Vultures, Girsu (https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010121794)

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[51] P227594. The tablet is quite destroyed, but it is probably a record of the workforce. Perhaps the entry next to KI EN GI refers to the type of jobs for which "digging" is assigned (AL is the symbol for a hoe and the other symbols are grammatical additions to the genitive and possessive "is from a hoe").

[52] P222399

It is also part of the royal title of King Enshkushanna on two inscriptions, one found in Nippur[53] (stone vase) and the other in Uruk[54] (foundation stele). The title he has in these inscriptions is "En of Kiengi, lu_2-gal of the Land" (en ki-en-gi lu_2-gal kalam-ma). On both inscriptions, the arrangement of symbols is KI EN GI.

It is part of the royal title of the king of Umma, Gishakidu in an inscription[55] written on a vessel found in Umma, "Supreme, Fierce Head of Kiengi" ($nir-gal_2$ sag huš $ki-en-gi-ke_4$). The symbol layout is KI EN GI. [56]

As an expression of power, ki-en-gi is also written in Lugalzagesi's inscription[57] on stone vessels[58] found in Nippur. The sequence of symbols is KI EN GI. His main title in the inscription is "King of Uruk, King of the Land (kalam)" and in the inscription he justifies and describes the conquest of the cities of southern Mesopotamia. A part of the inscription reads "All 'altars' in Kiengi and the rulers of all foreign countries in the region of Uruk, the divine gift of the greatest exaltation have determined for him" ($bara_2$-$bara_2$ ki-en-gi $ensi_2$ kur-kur-ra ki unu^{ki}-ge me $nam-nun-še_3$ mu-na-tar-e-ne).

5.4. Akkadian kingdom

After Lugalzagesi, who was the first to rule over all key centres of southern Mesopotamia, control over the entire area came into the hands of the first "foreigner", Sargon. The kings of his dynasty had East Semitic/Akkadian names and Akkadian became the official language of administration and a portion of royal propaganda. Royal inscriptions were largely written in Semitized Sumerian or were bilingual (Sumerian/Akkadian).

Kiengi is written with the GI symbol in six documents. In two, it is part of the dating of the last ruler who reigned over the larger territory of King Sharkalisharri. One is a document[59] about a barley transaction from Umma, which has largely been destroyed. The preserved part of the year's name $en-gi-še_3$ is on the reverse right after Sharkalisharri's name. The other document[60] is from

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[53] P431228

[54] P431230

[55] P431197

[56] There are two other inscriptions (tablet P222907 and cylinder P247677) with the same text, the origin of which is unknown and the part containing ki-en-gi is not well preserved, so nothing can be said about the order of the symbols.

[57] P431232

[58] Fourteen fragments of stone vessels were found with a part of the inscription on which ki-en-gi was written. From Lugalzagesi's inscriptions on which the part with ki-en-gi is written, photographs are available only for four fragments of stone vessels and two inscriptions (P264679, P264972, P264951, P264975)

[59] P215452

[60] P216254

Nippur and it is also about barley. The arrangement of the symbols is KI GI EN KI (ki-en-gi with the determinative ki) which also specifies here that Kiengi is a defined territory.

A document from Umma[61] records tax collections on behalf of lu_2-gal ki-en-gi-$še_3$ i3-gen-na-a $zabala_6^{ki}$-a i_3-gid_2-da-am_3. The last compound verb may be translated as "to reach," so the name of the year could be translated as "the king visited Kiengi and came to Zabala." The symbol layout is KI EN GI. Unfortunately, the ruler's name is not recorded, but the compound verb gen-na-a is the same as in the previous document of Sharkalisharri, so it may be from the same ruler. In another document[62] of unknown origin, probably dealing with a matters related to sheep, lu_2-gal ki-en-gi-[$še_3$] i_3-gen-na is written. The reverse of another barley document from Umma also records the date without the ruler's name: lu_2-gal ki-en-gi-$še_3$ i_3-im-gen-na-a uz-ga-ne. The symbol layout is KI EN GI.

Another document,[63] judging by the transcription preserved only in a fragment, has written in it [hu]-ru_9-um ki-en-gi-ta mu-ku_x(DU). The preserved part of the reverse lists things/people that were "taken" (mu-ku_x)[64] from[65] some places. The Sumerian hu-ru_9-um is a term for an uneducated person,[66] so what was taken from ki-en-gi would be uneducated persons. There is no way to verify the layout of the symbols or the character of the document.

In sources from this period, we also have the first record of the Semitic term *šumerum* in texts from southern Mesopotamia. This is an inscription[67] of King Rimush, on which one entry is *šu-me-ri_2-am ad ma-di_3-is_2* 3(diš) *$iš_{11}$-ar* ("In the battle over Sumer completely three times he was victorious") and another is u_3 1(geš'u) 3(geš'u) 5(aš) guruš guruš in iri^{ki}-iri^{ki} *šu-me-ri_2-im* u-su-s i_2-am-ma ("Further, 14,100 men from the cities of Sumer he expelled")[68]. In that inscription, only the city of Ur and its king, Kaku, are mentioned by name, but in another inscription the victory over Ur and Lagash, the two main ports, is emphasized.

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[61]   P212958. Neither a photograph nor drawing of the document is available.

[62]   P214859. There is no photo or drawing of the inscription to verify the arrangement of the symbols.

[63]   P215586

[64]   *LMSZK* s.v. mu-DU, 443

[65]   The grammatical element -ta behind ki-en-gi is either a Sumerian ablative or a Sumerogram used for the Akkadian genitive (*LMSZK* s.v. -TA, 642)

[66]   *CAD* 1, s.v. *aḫurrû*, 216

[67]   P461950

[68]   Translation by Frayne 1993 *RIME* 2.01.02.04 composite.

5.5. Second Dynasty of Lagash

After the collapse of the Akkadian kingdom, southern Mesopotamia again split into a series of independent city-states, and with the disappearance of a central government, the official archives also disappeared. The first records that appeared in that intermediate period came from Lagash and they belong to the Second Dynasty of Lagash, from which we have the most information about King Gudea. There is only one document[69] from that archive containing the entry lu$_2$ en-gi. Judging by the transcription, it is about the expense (zi-ga) of Shara's temple.

Ki-en-gi is written on both of Gudea's cylinders (A and B) about the construction of Ningirsu's temple. On cylinder A,[70] it is mentioned in two entries: "Kiengi will pour out oil in excess with you (Ningirsu), will weigh out wool in excess for you (Ningirsu)"[71]; and "Eninnu, brickwork of Kiengi, carries joy, they place the wood in the house, it is the dragon of Abzu rising in its terror."[72] On cylinder B,[73] it is written in one entry: "May the people lie down in safe pastures under your reign, (enjoying) abundance, and let the eyes of all countries be directed toward Kiengi."[74] The arrangement of the symbols is KI EN GI in all three entries.

5.6. Third Dynasty of Ur

The next dynasty that established control over southern Mesopotamia and the wider area came from the city of Ur (Third Dynasty of Ur, ca. 2100-2000 BC). Sumerian again became the official language of administration. In the royal inscriptions of that dynasty the title lu$_2$-gal ki-en-gi ki-uri, "King of Sumer and Akkad," appears for the first time.

In administrative documents, ki-en-gi with the symbol GI is written mainly as part of the title (lu$_2$-gal Ki-en-gi Ki-uri) of King Shulgi (seals and sealings from Girsu,[75] Nippur[76] and Puzrish-Dagan[77]). Beside them, ki-en-gi is written in nine documents. In two from Girsu[78], mu-ni-ki-en-gi ("His name is Kiengi")

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[69]   P217751

[70]   P431881, Translation by Jacob L. Dahl (in CDLI).

[71]   ki-en-gi-re$_6$ i$_3$ diri mu-da-de$_2$ siki diri mu-da-la$_2$

[72]   e$_2$-ninnu sig$_4$ ki-en-gi-ra$_2$-ka hi-li mu-ni-ib$_2$-du$_8$-du$_8$ e$_2$-a geš im-ga$_2$-ga$_2$-ne ušum abzu teš$_2$-ba e$_3$-de$_3$-dam

[73]   P431882. Translation by Edzard, Dietz Otto 1997, *RIME* 3/1.01.07, Cyl B composite.

[74]   ug$_3$ u$_2$-sal-la he$_2$-gal$_2$-la ha-mu-da-nu$_2$ ki-en-gi-re$_6$ kur-kur-re igi-bi ha-mu-ši-gal$_2$.

[75]   P128570, P456975, P458868, P121768.

[76]   P122466, P458867, P226975, P120971, P266925, P134657, P121086.

[77]   P125914, P430213.

[78]   P115757, P128553 (female workers in textile production).

is written as one of the recipients. In three documents[79] from Puzrish-Dagan, one category of sheep is described as udu ki-en-gi. In another document[80] about livestock in the same archive, one entry is sila$_4$ ga ki-en-gi and in the other kir$_{11}$ ga ki-en-gi (both translate as "the lamb of Kiengi"). A document[81] about textiles originates from Umma, in which one entry reads tug$_2$ bar ^{d}amar-^{d}suen-hi-li-ki-en-gi. ^{d}Amar-^{d}suen-hi-li-ki-en-gi-ra dumu-ni is also written in a document[82] of unknown origin, so it is probably the name "Amar Suen je hi li of Kiengi."

Only one other literary text, "Utuhegal's victory,"[83] has the ki-en-gi written with the symbol GI. It is mentioned in four places: "a people who acted violently against the gods, people who took the kingship of Sumer away to the mountains, who Sumer with wickedness filled"[84]; "Enlil, the kingship of Sumer to return to its own control he commanded me"[85]; "To the south, in Sumer, the cultivated land he tied up"[86]; "(...) and the kingship of Sumer to its control he returned."[87] It is clear in the inscription that ki-en-gi is a defined area, but whether this name meant the entire territory of southern Mesopotamia or only control over the cities through which trade from the Gulf coast went is not clear. It is possible that the entire area was already called by that name, because in one part "cultivated land" in Ki-en-gi is mentioned.

In this time, Ki-en-gi was written more often in royal inscriptions, primarily because it was part of the official title. As part of the lu$_2$-gal Ki-en-gi Ki-uri (Figure 8.) it is written with the symbol GI on 483 inscriptions.

Figure 8. Part of Shulgi's inscription (P332680) with title lu2-gal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke4, "King of Sumer and Akkad"

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[79] P103250, P143127, P106156.

[80] P100989.

[81] P130259 Neither a photograph nor a drawing of the document is available.

[82] P129660.

[83] P433096. Translation by D. A. Foxvog.

[84] lu$_2$ a$_2$ zi-ga dingir-re-e-ne lu$_2$ nam-lu$_2$-gal ki-en-gi-ra$_2$ kur-še$_3$ ba-de$_6$-a ki-en-gi-ra$_2$ nig$_2$-a-erim$_2$ bi$_2$-in-si-a.

[85] ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le nam-lu$_2$-gal ki-en-gi-ra šu-ba gi$_4$-gi$_4$-de$_3$ a$_2$-bi mu-da-an-ag$_2$.

[86] sig-še$_3$ ki-en-gi-ra$_2$ GAN$_2$ bi$_2$-keš$_2$.

6. *Ki-en-gi transformations*

The wealth of southern Mesopotamian cities rested mostly on the control of trade. The third millennium BC was a time when, apart from Mesopotamia, there were large urban centres with a clearly defined hierarchical society in which the king and the elite gathered around him played a leading role in Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia and Elam. This was also the Early and Middle Bronze Age, when the use of bronze was widespread, and to the ruling elite it was essential to equip the army that defended the wealth of the cities and the ruler's position. Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin. Copper is a raw material that was available at numerous locations in the ancient East (Anatolia, Sinai, Cyprus...[88]), but sources of tin were scarce. Written sources and archaeological findings all indicate that tin came to the Mediterranean from somewhere in the east, probably Afghanistan.[89] It reached the Mediterranean by sea via the Gulf and then the Euphrates and Tigris or by overland routes via the passes and rivers of the Iranian highlands.

Map 1. Southern Mesopotamia showing the main river channels, the marine coastline and the location of the most important urban centres in the third millennium BC (BE-NATI 2015 fig. 1)

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[87]   nam-lu$_2$-gal ki-en-gi-ra šu-ba im-mi-gi$_4$.

[88]   The main exporter of copper in the 2nd millennium BC was Cyprus, and some analyses indicate that even in the 3rd millennium BC it had that role (see in STECH WHEELER, MADDIN AND MUHLY 1975).

[89]   See MUHLY 1999: 20, 21.

Judging by discovered remains and the geological research into the ancient coast of the Gulf and the remains of ancient water channels, southern Mesopotamia had two main ports, Ur and Lagash, to which two main river channels led. All other cities were located on these canals or their branches, most often in the places where these branches forked. The access of an individual city to the Gulf coast depended on the port that was at the end of the canal network on which it was located. All cities also depended on the centres that were upstream from them. The northernmost city mentioned as part of the Early Dynastic domain of political and commercial activity of the southern Mesopotamian urban centres was Kish. Kish is located in the central part of Mesopotamia (Map 1), in the area where the Euphrates and Tigris are closest, but more importantly in the third millennium BC, it was located above the area where the Euphrates split into two main channels. As a result, it was an inevitable point on any trade route that led from the Gulf to the north. Its importance to the political and commercial activity of all southern Mesopotamian cities was clearly reflected in the importance of the title "lugal Kish".

Throughout Mesopotamian history, control of trade routes was a key factor in the policies of all rulers. The well-being of all Mesopotamian cities depended on the decision through which centres and on which channels the precious cargo from the east would travel farther north and west. At a time when there was no single central government, rather each of the cities had autonomous political and economic organization, alliances were made to ensure the route by which raw materials from the east would be transported. Conflicts erupted not over arable land but over the position in the chain of intermediaries in the trade network.

City seals, the first evidence of city alliances, testify to a possible trade route, i.e., a set of channels controlled by certain cities. In those first testimonies, the primary port that was the starting point in the chain was the city of Ur. The kings of Ur, Mesannepada and Meskalamdug, bore the title "Kings of Kish", which indicates that Ur at least for a time had held sway over the northern cities. Only a hundred years later, at the time when the name ki-en-gi was recorded for the first time, Ur was not in that alliance, but Lagash was the main seaport. Shuruppak, which, based on documents from that archive, held a very important position in the alliance, was destroyed after that period. [90] It has already been suggested that Ur was responsible for this destruction. Ur probably wanted to regain its primacy as the main port for the delivery of raw materials.

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[90] The layer in which the large archive of Shuruppak was found had been destroyed in a great fire, which indicates the existence of conflicts, as additionally confirmed by administrative documents that speak of the mobilization of soldiers (*WF* 92; 94; 95 IV 2 (ĝuruš-me$_3$); 101 I 1 (ĝuruš-me$_3$); KREBERNIK 1998: 242). There is very little evidence of Shuruppak from later times. After the third dynasty of Ur, the city seems to have been abandoned (CHARVÁT 2002: 166; MARTIN 1982: 149-152; 1988; 1997; MATTHEWS 1991).

In the Early Dynastic IIIa period, ki-en-gi was written, with the exception of the lexical list of gods from Shuruppak, exclusively with the order of symbols EN GI KI. KI is in the last position that this symbol always has when it performs the function of place determinative. Based on that, originally it was not the name Kiengi, but a place that was recorded with the symbols EN and GI. The translation of that name would be "(place of) the lord's reed" or "(place of) the Lords of the reed". The EN symbol changed its meaning from that in the proto-cuneiform texts, when it was most likely the title of the ruler, the so-called priest-king.[91] In the third millennium BC, it was primarily the title of the high priest, but it was also the king's ritual title. In proto-cuneiform documents, the symbol GI is a stylized representation of the reed stem, and it retains that meaning in Sumerian texts. However, as Englund had already observed (ENGLUND 2004: 29), this symbol in proto-cuneiform texts also denoted a special type of transaction: "receipt (of goods)". In that case, the compound could be translated as "(place) of the Lord's receipts", i.e., the area that was under the direct or indirect authority of EN.

The first written form of the name *Šumerum* from Ebla dates to that time. There, it is rendered as "*Šumarum*, rulers of foreign lands" and it is clear that the area was located somewhere in southern Mesopotamia. Ebla was an urban centre in what is today Syria and in the third millennium BC it had verified links to southern Mesopotamia (training of scribes, transmission of scripts…[92]) based on the commercial interests of both areas. As a trade partner, Ebla must have had a contract with a dominant trade union or city through which it received cargo from the East. At the time when *Šumarum* was recorded in the Ebla archive, it was a ki-en-gi league verified in texts from Abu Salabikh and Shuruppak. We cannot know the extent to which the rulers and administrators from Ebla were familiar with the actual political organization in southern Mesopotamia. Surely the only thing that mattered to them was who provided them with cargo from the East. What *Šumarum* originally meant is not known, but for the rulers of Ebla, it denoted the entity through which goods reached them, so that probably already in this period, ki-en-gi was identified with *šum-ar-rum₂*, but not for all of southern Mesopotamia but rather only for the coalition of cities that controlled the flow of goods from the Gulf further to the north-west.

The following testimonies about ki-en-gi came from Lagash, which, if Ur defeated the previous ki-en-gi led by Shuruppak, ceased to be the main port. If one consults the map (Map 1) showing the established position of the primary water channels in the southern Mesopotamia, then it becomes clear that the conflict between Lagash and Umma was most likely due to the alliance between

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[91]   See in CHARVÁT 2002: 135. For further considerations on that title related to ki-en-gi, see below.

[92]   See in OSTERMAN 2010: 228, 229.

Umma and Ur, because Umma controlled a junction on one of the two main canals whence all traffic could be diverted to Ur and bypass Lagash. Eanatum, after his victory over Umma, claimed to have defeated Ur (perhaps also Kiengi) and thus attained the title "king of Kish", controlling trade through southern Mesopotamia. His control was certainly not long-lived, because his successor Enmetena had to reconquer Umma. However, Enmetena did not mention Ur or Kiengi. He did not even have the title lugal anymore, he was just ensi of Lagash ("governor of Lagash"). Lagash had obviously failed to take control of trade.

Administrative documents containing ki-en-gi virtually disappeared in this period. They were scant in the preceding period, but there is only once instance in a document from this time that is unfortunately too damaged to allow for any specific conclusions. The reason for this is probably the preservation of textual sources from the final phase of the Early Dynastic period. Most of the documents originated in Girsu, which, judging by the preserved inscriptions, was not part of Kiengi. The only texts in which the GI_4 symbol is written in the compound instead of the GI originated in Girsu. All four documents are from Urukagina's reign. In those texts the determinative for place is also written after ki-en-gi$_4$. Therefore, it is possible that Urukagina actually performed sacrifices and sent gifts to a single location, perhaps the supposed centre or shrine of the Kiengi alliance. Some administrative texts from the time of his reign mention conflicts with the city of Uruk, more specifically, that "men from Uruk" besieged Lagash.[93]

Conflicts over the control of trade routes did not cease. The aspirations of certain rulers to control all of southern Mesopotamia, or more precisely all of the main trade routes, are also evident. The first of whom this may said with certainly is Eanatum, king of Lagash. Based on his title, he still did not declare his reign over the entire area, but he particularly emphasized victory over the rival port of Ur, perhaps also Kiengi, and assumed the previously established "supreme" title of lugal Kish. Lugalzagesi, who was the first (according to his inscriptions) to conquer the most important southern Mesopotamian urban centres, also does not include Kiengi in his title. However, he claimed that there were more "altars" of Kiengi that he had conquered. The rulers Gishakidu and Enshakushanna cannot be placed in a chronological relationship with Eanatum and Lugalzagesi with certainty, but in their inscriptions a change in the role of Kiengi in the royal ideology is clearly apparent. They no longer claimed that they just conquered Kiengi and its seats but rather ruled over it. Gishakidu is the "Supreme, Fierce Head of Kiengi". Enshakushanna goes a step farther and is the first to directly place Kiengi in the top rank of his royal title, but not as lugal ("king") but rather as EN Kiengi. Pettinato (2002, 198) states that "in the Sumerian literature, the term en has a double meaning, the first one of a political nature and the second one of a religious

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[93] P221195, P221996.

nature: in fact, it designates the political leader of Uruk, but also a particular type of priest or priestess in the various Cities-States.". Regarding Enshakushanna's inscription he writes "I do not believe that Kiengi and Kalam are two synonyms, but rather the expressions of two different geographic realities: Kiengi stands for the whole Lower Mesopotamia and Kalam for the territorial State of Uruk only." (PETTINATO 2002, 202). Westenholz (2002, 34) considers en as traditional title of Inanna's high priest at Uruk but about en as royal title in Uruk he concluded "The en may also have been the city ruler there, but direct evidence for this is lacking, while both lugal and ensi are attested.". For the Enshakushanna title he deems "It is tempting to interpret this double title as the cultic and the political aspects of the same entity: ki-en-gi was the area of the cultic confederacy of the Sumerian city states, the "land" that acknowledged the lugal Enshakushanna." (WESTENHOLZ 2002, 31).

At the end of Early Dynastic Period there is also a change in the way this compound is written. It is no longer found in the original version where the symbol KI is at the final position of the determinative, but with rare exceptions KI is at the beginning, which suggests that at this time the name "Kiengi" was defined and although it does not include the entire area of Sumerian Mesopotamia, it definitely represented a key ideological factor in the royal ideology. The original meaning of the name has been lost and now instead of "(the place of) the Lord of the reed" there is only Kiengi.

The creation of the first kingdom led to the creation of a unique culture and identity that encompassed part of the previous ki-en-gi identity. In order to unify the diverse administrative practices of the previously independent Sumerian city-states, Sargon created a unique system of measures and a calendar and East Semitic deities were syncretised with their counterparts in the Sumerian pantheon. A new tradition was created, both "divine" and royal. Sargon conquered the southern Mesopotamian cities for the same reason that these cities had previously fought each other: control over the trade routes that before him had been in the hands of the cities of the ki-en-gi league. Sargon clearly emphasized his control of trade in his inscription.[94] Steinkeller described Sargon's kingdom as "largely a commercial enterprise, whose primary objective was to control —and thereby to exploit economically— the main trade routes of the region" (STEINKELLER 2013b: 415). After conquering the most important southern Mesopotamian centres, Sargon took the prestigious title "lugal Kish" with which his Sumerian predecessors boasted when they controlled the Kiengi. That title remained an integral part of the titles of the Assyrian and Babylonian rulers until the end of those kingdoms. However,

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[94]   P461937 (a 9-13): ma$_2$ me-luh-ha^{ki} ma$_2$ ma$_2$-gan^{ki} ma$_2$ tilmun^{ki} kar ag-ge-de$_3${ki}}-ka bi$_2$-keš$_2$, "The boats of Meluhha: the boats of Magan, and the boats of Dilmun at the quay of Agade he tied up." Translation by Daniel Foxvog.

none of Sargon's inscriptions mentioned Kiengi or *Šumerum*. There was probably no need for him to assume the entire ideology of the Early Dynastic era's leading cities. The situation changed after his death. His successor, Rimush, was faced with the revolts of the southern Mesopotamian cities and had to restore order by military means. In his inscription, he named *Šu-me-ri$_2$* as an area that he had conquered and from whose cities he had expelled able-bodied people (guruš) probably as prisoners of war. This was the first time that the Semitic name *Šume-rum* was mentioned in southern Mesopotamian sources and there it also referred to a specific area. In that inscription, Rimush only named the city of Ur, but in another, he stated that he had conquered Lagash as well as Ur. Those two cities were the two main ports and thus they were the most distant from the supposed location of the capital, Akkad in central Mesopotamia, so it is understandable that it was also the most difficult to maintain control over them. They were also a key part of the trade chain from the Gulf, so it was vitally important to keep them under control. Sharkalisharri, the last ruler of the Akkadian kingdom who still had control over a significant part of the territory and thus at least some level of control over trade, named some of his years of rule after a jorney to ki-en-gi.[95]

After the collapse of the Akkadian kingdom, the first to establish control over trade, judging by preserved sources, was the city of Lagash. Its ruler Gudea, in his inscription that celebrates the construction of a temple to the city's patron deity Ningirsu, clearly pointed out that the domain of ki-en-gi was under his city's control. In Gudea's case, there is no evidence about any military conquests, nor is there any evidence that he ruled over any other city besides Lagash. He thus ruled only Lagash but considered Kiengi under his control. This is perhaps the clearest evidence that, at least until him, Kiengi originally denoted a trade network. Lagash was the main port for only a short time. Perhaps already during Gudea's reign, the city of Ur rose again and took control of Kiengi.

The rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur were the first to assume the title "lu$_2$-gal Ki-en-gi Ki-uri," which remained a permanent part of the royal title that expressed authority over southern Mesopotamia until the Persian King Cyrus, who was the last to use this title in his inscription on the Cyrus Cylinder.[96] The idea of a distinct southernmost part of Mesopotamia, called Kiengi in Sumerian, has already been established here. In Ur, Kiengi should at least have had special significance because Ur was not part of the first administratively defined ki-en-gi league. Although we cannot say for sure whether a record of ama ki-en-gi was connected to a league of cities by that name, Ur was most likely at the head of such a league before the confirmation of Shuruppak's ki-en-gi alliance. At

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[95] On the interpretation of the name of the year and the purpose of the Sharkalisharri's journey in ki-en-gi, see KRAUS 2019.

[96] LUGAL KUR-*šu-me-ri ù ak-ka-di-i* (Cyrus II 1, 20).

the end of the third millennium BC, Ur regained control over trade, but also over the entirety of southern Mesopotamia and beyond. The first literary texts that became the basis of Mesopotamian literature (the Gilgamesh legends, creation epics, etc.), the Sumerian king list and the first law code date to that time and were written in the Sumerian language. That is why this period was called the "Sumerian Renaissance" but today we know that it is entirely incorrect. G. Rubio irrefutably demonstrated that Akkadian was the mother tongue of at least the second ruler Shulgi (RUBIO 2006: 169). Shulgi was the longest-lived ruler of that dynasty, who carried out key reforms for the purpose of deifying the entire dynasty, associating the non-Sumerian rulers with the legendary semi-divine Sumerian king, Gilgamesh.[97] In that process, he created what we today call the Sumerian tradition. Although only some of the rulers of the First Dynasty of Isin which first took control of that area after collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur were deified, the ideology shaped by Shulgi formed the royal identity of all subsequent kings who ruled southern Mesopotamia.

Who were the Sumerians?

Was there some original Sumerian identity that would have been common and encompassed all centres where Sumerian was spoken language of the ruling class at a minimum? In that sense, there certainly was not. The first half of the third millennium BC was a time of independent city-states in which the royal ideology and, more importantly, urban identity, had just begun to form. Cooper (2016, 11) has already established that for now there is no evidence for the existence of a distinct Sumerian identity until the time of Shulgi, when the Sumerian language, although it remained the official language of administration, was mostly only taught in schools and the spoken language was Akkadian. Kiengi as a name for a specific area during the Third Dynasty of Ur became an integral part of the royal titles. The title "King of Sumer and Akkad" had henceforth been assumed by all rulers who reigned over southern Mesopotamia or at least who controlled the main port of Ur and the flow of goods from the Gulf to the north-west. However, no ruler before or after Shulgi was only a lu_2-gal ki-en-gi, no one was "King of Sumer". Sumer was not a defined area of a specific ancient people, nor can we state that the Sumerians were a unique ethnic group. As of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Sumerian had to be learned and only then would one become a Sumerian, although after that time speakers of that language probably did not exist.

And that is how Sumer was born, Sumer which never existed in the tradition of the people whose mother tongue was Sumerian. Identities were created by

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[97]   For divine kings of Third Dynasty of Ur, see STEINKELLER 2017.

kings and political interests. The Sumerian identity was created to legitimize the rule of non-Sumerian rulers. How much of this "Sumerian tradition" existed in the actual Sumerian era is difficult to ascertain. After the Third Dynasty of Ur, new Babylonian rulers came who assumed control of the royal ideology from the preceding southern Mesopotamian rulers, but they also incorporated their own identity into it. Old Babylonian rulers cemented the Sumerian identity as described by Cooper. As such, it was in turn assumed by other foreign "Sumerian" rulers. We were also first introduced to such a Sumerian identity and only now have we come to the realization that we still need to search for those original Sumerians.

Abbreviations

ARCANE III	*Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean III: History and Philology*, W Sallaberger & I. Schrakamp (eds.), Turnhout, 2015
ARIo	Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions online Project (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ario/index.html)
CAD 1	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* Volume 1, OPPENHEIM A. Leo, Erica REINER (ur.), Chicago, 1998.
CDLI	*Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (https://cdli.ucla.edu/)
CDLI	*Sign list "Late Uruk Period"* https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/SignLists/protocuneiform/archsigns.html
Cyrus II 1	Natpis na Kirovom cilindru, transliteracija i prijevod u ARIo (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ario/corpus/)
e PSD	electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/nepsd-frame.html
ETCSL	*The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/)
LMSZK	*Leipzig–Müncher Sumerischer Zettelkasten* (verzija 26.9.2006.)
Pxxxxx	Oznaka pločica u *CDLI*
PBS	*Publications of the Babylonian Section*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
RIME	*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods*, Toronto
SF	DEIMEL, Anton. 1923. *Die Inschriften von Fara II. Schultexte aus Fara, WVDOG* 43, Leipzig
TSŠ	JESTIN, Raymond R. 1937. *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservèes au Musée de Stamboul*, Pariz
WF	DEIMEL, Anton. 1924. *Die Inschriften von Fara III. Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara, WVDOG* 45, Leipzig

WVDOG   *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Berlin*

ZA   Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Leipzig, Berlin

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Table 1. (Data from BENATI 2015, fig. 6 and MATTHEWS, RICHARDSON 2018, Table 1. with the author's supplement for data on ki-en-gi cities based on documents from Shuruppak)

cities	Jemdet Nasr seal	Archaic city list	City seal	Sealings of City seal	K i - e n - g i
Ur	+	+	+	+	
Nippur	+	+	+		+
Larsa	+	+	+		
Uruk	+	+	+	+	+
Kesh	+	?	+		
Zabala	+	?			
Umma					+
Eresh (Abu Sala-bikh?)	?	?			
UR$_2$ KU$_6$ RAD (Ukair?)	+	+	?	+	
BU BU NA2	+	+			
Kutha	?				
UB (Jemdet Nasr?)			+	+	
Shuruppak				+	+
Eridu			+		
Adab			+		+
Edinu	+		+		
Kish					
Der			+		
Lagash				+	+

Od ki-en-gi do *Šumerum*: kako je nastao Sumer?

Tema rada postupno je stvaranje sumerske tradicije koja nam je danas najpoznatija iz starobabilonskih izvora (prva četvrtina 2. tisućljeća pr. Kr.). U tim je izvorima naziv za prostor, ljude, jezik i tradiciju šumerum, a prema dvojezičnim (babilonsko-sumerskim) tekstovima sumerska složenica koja odgovara tom nazivu je ki-en-gi. Sumerski naziv je zapisan prvi puta u dokumentima ranodinastičkog IIIa razdoblja (oko 2500. pr. Kr.) i označavao je skupinu od šest gradova. Pomponio je tu ligu nazvao Hexapolis te je zaključio da su među navedenim gradovima postojali kontinuirani odnosi i trgovina. Smatra da su u to vrijeme najvjerojatnije bili politički i ekonomski najvažnija središta u Sumeru (POMPONIO I VISICATO 1994: 10 - 20). Bogatstvo južnomezopotamskih gradova počivalo je većinom na kontroli trgovačkih puteva. Do sada je potvrđeno postojanje dviju glavnih mezopotamskih luka na Perzijskom zaljevu, Ur i Nina/Surghul koji je pripadao političkoj cjelini grada Lagaša. Izlaz pojedinog grada na obalu Zaljeva ovisio je o luci na kraju mreže kanala na kojoj je bio smješten. Svi su gradovi isto tako ovisili o središtima koja su bila uzvodno. Najsjeverniji grad koji se spominje kao dio ranodinastičke domene političke i trgovačke djelatnosti južnomezopotamskih urbanih središta bio je Kiš, koji je pripadao istočno-semitskom govornom području. U ranodinastičkom razdoblju imao je ideološki najistaknutiju ulogu u određenim fazama i za određena područja južne Mezopotamije. Pojedini vladari za koje znamo da su primarno vladali sumerskim južnomezopotamskim gradovima (kao Mesanepada, vladar Ura) na nekim spomenicima preuzimaju titulu lugal Kiš.

Kroz cijelo 3. tisućljeće pr. Kr. identitet urbanih mezopotamskih kultura temeljio se na pripadnosti pojedinom gradu. Oni su sklapali međusobne saveze da bi efikasnije kontrolirali trgovinu. To je potvrđeno već na kraju uručkog razdoblja cilindričnim pečatom (tzv. Đemdet Nasr pečat, Slika 3.) na kojem su se nalazili simboli pojedinih mjesta (Tabla 1). Ta ideja zajedništva pojedinih gradova nastavlja se u ranodinastičkom I-II razdoblju kojem pripada veći broj otisaka takozvanih „pečata gradova" (Slika 4). Na njima su prikazani simboli raznih južnomezopotamskih gradova. Vjeruje se da su bili dio saveza koji je kontrolirao trgovinu. U tim prvim svjedočanstvima glavna luka koja je bila početna točka lanca bio je grad Ur. Samo stotinjak godina kasnije, u vrijeme kada imamo zapisan prvi puta naziv ki-en-gi, u tom savezu nema Ura, ali je tu Lagaš kao glavna pomorska luka.

Naziv ki-en-gi prvi je puta zapisan u dva velika arhiva (iz Šurupaka i Abu Salabikha), a mogu se datirati u ranodinastičko IIIa razdoblje (oko 2575-2475. +/- 30 pr. Kr.). Iz tog razdoblja sačuvani su i tekstovi iz sirijske Eble među kojima je zapisana najranija verzija kasnijeg semitskog naziva *šumerum* (*sum-ar-rum₂*). *Šumarum* u tim tekstovima očito označava neki teritorij u južnoj Mezopotamiji. Navodi se „*Šumarum*, vladari stranih zemalja" i jasno je da se prostor nalazi negdje u južnoj Mezopotamiji. Ebla je kao trgovački partner sigurno sklapala

ugovor s dominantnom trgovačkom unijom ili gradom preko kojeg je dobivala tovar s Istoka. U vrijeme spomena *Šumarum* to je bila ki-en-gi liga posvjedočena u tekstovima iz Abu Salabikha i Šurupaka. Vjerojatno se već u tom razdoblju može potvrditi istovjetnost ki-en-gi i šum-ar-rum2, ali ne za cijelu južnu Mezopotamiju, već samo za koaliciju gradova koji su kontrolirali protok robe. U ranodinastičkom IIIa razdoblju ki-en-gi je zapisan isključivo s poretkom simbola EN GI KI (Slika 6), s izuzetkom leksičke liste bogova iz Šurupaka. KI je na zadnjoj poziciji kao determinativ mjesta. Prijevod tog naziva bio bi „(mjesto) gospodske trske".

U završnoj fazi ranodinastičkog razdoblja najveći je arhiv pronađen u gradu Girsuu (današnji Telo) koji je pripadao sumerskom gradu-državi Lagaš. U to se vrijeme ki-en-gi prvi puta javlja kao dio kraljevske ideologije na kraljevskim natpisima. Zapisan je na monumentalnoj kraljevskoj „Steli jastrebova" (Slika 7) kralja Lagaša Eanatuma. U završnom dijelu teksta, koji je dosta oštećen, u kontekstu Eanatumovih pobjeda zapisano je prvo da je pobijedio grad Ur i nešto „.... od Sumera, Ur je uništio". Natpis inače govori o pobjedi nad gradom Umom koja je kontrolirala čvorište na jednom od dva glavna kanala, odakle se može sav promet preusmjeriti u Ur i zaobići Lagaš. Eanatum također uzima prethodno utvrđenu „vrhovnu" titulu lugal Kiš. Lugalzagesi, koji se prvi navodi na natpisu, piše da je osvojio najvažnija južnomezopotamska urbana središta. Također još ne stavlja Kiengi u svoju titulaturu, ali jasno iskazuje da je bilo više „oltara" Kiengija koje je osvojio. U natpisima vladara Gišakidu i Enšakušana jasno je vidljiva promjena u ulozi Kiengija u kraljevskoj ideologiji. Oni više nisu samo pobijedili Kiengi i njegova sjedišta, već vladaju njime. Promjena je i u načinu pisanja te složenice. Više se ne nalazi na izvornu verziju gdje je simbol KI na završnoj poziciji determinative, već se uz rijetke iznimke nalazi na početnom mjestu što sugerira da je u ovo vrijeme naziv „Kiengi" definiran kao ključni ideološki faktor na tom prostoru.

Slijedi doba Akadskoga kraljevstva (2324-2181.+/-30 pr. Kr.) kada je prvi puta uveden istočnosemitski akadski kao službeni jezik. Vladari te dinastije preuzimaju dio zatečene vladarske ideologije u koje uklapaju vlastitu tradiciju. Sargon je osvojio južnomezopotamske gradove iz istog razloga zbog kojeg su se ti gradovi prije međusobno sukobljavali – kontrole trgovačkih puteva koja je prije njega bila u rukama gradova ki-en-gi lige. Nakon što je osvojio najvažnija južnomezopotamska središta, Sargon je preuzeo prestižnu titulu „lugal Kiš", kojom su se dičili njegovi sumerski prethodnici kada su kontrolirali Kiengi. U izvorima iz tog razdoblja imamo i prvi zapis semitskog naziva *Šumerum* u tekstovima iz južne Mezopotamije.

Sumerski je ponovno postao službeni jezik za vrijeme 2. lagaške dinastije, kada je izvorima uglavnom potvrđen vladar Gudea (2130. -2110.? pr. Kr.). Vladao je samo Lagašom, ali je smatrao da je Kiengi pod njegovom kontrolom.

Sumerski je službeni jezik i za vrijeme 3. urske dinastije čiji vladari evidentno nisu bili Sumerani, ali su legitimizirali vlast preko modificirane sumerske tradicije

Akadskog Kraljevstva. U kraljevskim natpisima vladara treće urske dinastije prvi puta se javlja titula lu2-gal ki-en-gi ki-uri, koja se prevodi kao „kralj Sumera i Akada“. Ideja o jedinstvenom najjužnijem dijelu Mezopotamije, koji se na sumerskom naziva Kiengi, ovdje je već ustaljena. Kraljevska ideologija vladara Ura formirala je kraljevski identitet svih slijedećih kraljeva koji su vladali južnom Mezopotamijom.

Je li postojao neki izvorni sumerski identitet koji bi bio zajednički i povezivao sva središta gdje je sumerski bio većinski govorni jezik barem vladajućeg sloja? U tom smislu zasigurno nije. Titulu „kralj Sumera i Akada“ od vremena 3. urske dinastije preuzimali su svi vladari koji su vladali južnom Mezopotamijom. Međutim, niti jedan vladar prije ni poslije Šulgija nije bio samo lugal ki-en-gi, nitko nije bio „kralj Sumera“. Sumer nije bio definirani prostor nekog drevnog naroda, niti se može reći da su Sumerani bili jedinstveni etnik. Sumeraninom se postajalo u školama tek nakon što više nisu postojali govornici sumerskoga jezika, a jedina sumerska tradicija koja je postojala je ona stvorena za vrijeme 3. urske dinastije.

Ključne riječi: ki-en-gi, *Šumerum*, južna Mezopotamija, treće tisućljeće prije Krista
Key words: ki-en-gi, *Šumerum*, southern Mesopotamia, Third millennium BC.

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RADOVI

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Broj 3

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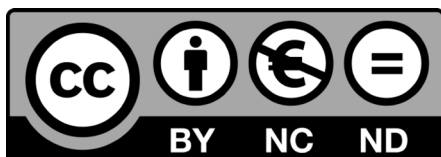Edward Bosnar (engleski / English)

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